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On the Population of the Burman Empire. By Lieutenant-Colone H. BURNES, Bengal Army, late Resident at the Court of Ava.

IT is well known to most persons who have visited Burmah, that a census of the population of that empire was taken about the year 1783, or Burmese year 1145, shortly after Mendaragyee, the grandfather of the present monarch, assumed the throne.

During my residence at the late capital, Ava, I observed that this census was often referred to in official correspondence, and I learned, that the voluminous papers connected with it, as well as with another census which the late king directed to be taken in the year 1826, were deposited in the archives of the palace, to which few of the subordinate officers had free access. It was long before I could persuade any of these officers to bring me copies of such portions of these curious records as they could secretly transcribe; but I succeeded at last in some measure, and having now compared, arranged, and made a literal translation of all that they brought to me at different times, I beg to present it for the examination of those who will take an interest in the subject. The annexed returns, it will be seen, comprise :—

1st. A list, marked A, of the number of houses, taxable and untaxable, in each district of Burmah Proper and Pegu, as returned by the census taken in 1145, or A.D. 1783, and by that in 1188, or A.D. 1826.

2nd. A list, marked B, of the number of houses liable for public or military service in the different Shan states or districts subject to the King of Ava, as taken about the year 1800 by the present Kyi Wungyee's father, the Myen Wungyee.

3rd. Lists, marked C, of the number of houses in the three principal cities, Ava, Amarapura, and Isagain, and in the villages within the jurisdiction of each, as delivered in to the government of Ava by the proper officers in the month of January, 1827.

From these returns, joined to other information which I gathered whilst residing at Ava, I have framed the following estimates of the population of the Burmese Empire in the years 1783 and 1826.

[For Estimates, &c., see following page.]

In the annexed statements I have not included Arracan, because I could obtain no lists on which I could depend of its population under the Burmese Government, and that kingdom was not conquered until after the census of 1783 had been ordered. The capital of Arracan appears to have been taken about the 4th January, 1785. One document brought to me relating to its population was as follows, and the copyist declared that the figures denoted the number of houses in each province:—

Province.	Arracanese.	Burman.	Other Places.	Total.
Arracan	104,696	783	15,372	120,851
Ramree	57,879	560	2,351	60,790
Cheduba	19,770	220	10	20,000
Sandoway	20,095	861	9,704	30,660
Total	202,440	2,424	27,437	232,301

* These returns being too voluminous for insertion in the Journal, may be referred to in the Society's library. An abstract of each is inserted in Appendix No. 2, at the end of this paper, marked with letters corresponding to the more detailed returns.

Census of 1783.		No. of District Towns in each Division.	No. of Villages in each Division.	No. of Houses liable to Assessment.	No. of Houses not liable to Assessment.	Total No. of Houses in each Division.	Total No. of Population in each Division, allowing Seven Persons to each House.
City of Amarapura . . . . .	. . . . .	1	..	4,248	9,596	13,844	96,908
Villages subordinate to ditto . . . . .	. . . . .	..	27	199	1,368	1,567	10,969
City of Isagain . . . . .	. . . . .	1	..	833	3,179	4,012	28,084
Villages subordinate to ditto . . . . .	. . . . .	..	41	439	1,960	2,399	16,793
City of Ava (deserted in 1783) . . . . .	. . . . .	1	..	25	48	73	511
Districts lying between the Capital and the North-west Frontier . . . . .	. . . . .	41	921	38,905	31,146	70,051	490,337
Ditto between the Capital and the Western Frontier . . . . .	. . . . .	15	505	14,690	5,149	19,839	138,873
Ditto on the banks of the Erawadi, to the North of the Capital . . . . .	. . . . .	19	220	2,646	1,519	4,165	29,155
Ditto on the banks of ditto, to the South of the Capital . . . . .	. . . . .	41	2,119	52,518	14,113	66,631	466,417
Ditto between the Capital and the South-east Frontier, to the East of the Erawadi . . . . .	. . . . .	35	1,065	30,247	15,705	46,042	322,294
Tait, or Demesnes of the Crown . . . . .	. . . . .	12	523	18,431	25,077	43,508	304,556
Mgen, or Cavalry Jaghires . . . . .	. . . . .	2	205	4,223	3,672	7,895	55,265
Yuwun-zu, Kywun wun-zu, and other Districts superintended by the Royal Treasurer and other Officers of the Court . . . . .	. . . . .	6	50	..	14,508	14,508	101,556
Miscellaneous, or not included under any of the above Divisions . . . . .	. . . . .	14	59	47	1,476	1,523	10,660
Total according to the Returns in 1783 . . . . .	. . . . .	188	5,735	167,451	128,606	296,057	2,072,399
Add ten per cent. for omissions in the Returns . . . . .	. . . . .	..	..	16,745	12,860	29,605	207,239
Total estimated population of Burnah Proper and Pegu in the year 1783. Add population of Ye, Tavoy and Mergui, ceded to the British Government in 1826 . . . . .	. . . . .	188	5,735	184,196	141,466	325,662	2,279,638
Amount of the various wild tribes subject to Ava, estimated by Mr. Crawford at . . . . .	. . . . .	..	150	..	..	4,286	30,002
Probable amount of the population of the Shan States and Districts subject to Ava . . . . .	. . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	830,000
Total estimated population of the Burmese Empire in the year 1783	. . . . .	188	5,885	76,400	76,400	152,800	1,069,600
				260,596	217,866	482,748	4,209,240

Census of 1826.		No. of Villages.	Total No. of Houses.	Total No. of Population, allowing Seven Persons to each House.
City of Ava, reckoning each subdivision of the town as a village		59	7,610	53,270
Villages subordinate to Ava		142	8,360	58,520
City of Amarapura		97	11,494	80,458
Villages subordinate to ditto.		27	1,567	10,969
City of Isagain		90	4,012	28,084
Villages subordinate to ditto		117	7,885	55,195
Total according to the Returns delivered		532	40,928	286,496
Add ten per cent. for omissions in ditto		..	4,092	28,644
Total population of the three cities and villages subordinate, in 1826		. . . . .	45,020	315,140
Ditto of the remaining Districts in Burmah Proper and Pegu, according to the Returns.		. . . . .	261,795	1,832,565
Add ten per cent. for omissions in ditto		. . . . .	26,179	183,253
Total estimated population of Burmah Proper and Pegu in the year 1826		. . . . .	332,994	2,330,958
Add as before, for the wild tribes		. . . . .	..	830,000
Add population of the Shan States and Districts subject to Ava		. . . . .	..	1,069,600
Total estimated population of the Burmese Empire in the year 1826		. . . . .	..	4,230,558

Colonel Symes estimated the population of that country at 3,000,000; but this must have been far too high. Shortly after it came into our possession the inhabitants were reckoned by the late Mr. Paton not to exceed 100,000 in number,* and a more complete census taken in the year 1835, gave a total of no more than 209,184. The people were of course very much reduced in number between the time of the Burmese conquest and our occupation, owing to repeated insurrections and to extensive emigrations into our territory; still at the time when Colonel Symes wrote, in 1795, judging from the actual returns of the other portions of the Burmese dominions, I should not be inclined to allow Arracan a population exceeding 500,000.

The above statements certainly reduce the population of the Burmese empire to a much lower amount than that at which all previous writers, with the exception of Mr. Crawford, had estimated it; but this is not the first instance of a census, or the result of some actual computation, showing that all preceding estimates were gross exaggerations. The late Mr. James Prinsep's census of the city of Benares reduced the population from 600,000, which it had been previously supposed to be, to 181,482 only.†

I am inclined to place most reliance on the census of Burmah taken in the year 1783, for I learnt at Ava, that the old king, Mendaragye, had used the most severe and extraordinary measures to obtain correct returns, and that he was employed nearly two years on the work. He displaced many, and even put to death some of the provincial officers for bringing him incorrect or false returns, and he had recourse to spies and secret agents, whom he sent to various districts to make inquiries, to ascertain the real number of houses, and bring him the lists. On the taxable houses he then levied 100 ticals on every three houses, and the untaxable were those whose occupants were liable for military and other public employ. Every house was thus bound to pay, either in money or service. I should mention here, that in almost every town or village in Burmah, there are two parties of conflicting interests—the local officers for the time being, and some individuals, or the heirs or descendants of others, who had held office at some former period. The latter closely watch the proceedings of the former; and by setting one against the other, the Burmese government generally contrive to elicit the truth. These returns are therefore nearer the truth than may be at first imagined; and, at all events, they contain all the information in regard to the population of Burmah which its own government possesses. The papers connected with the census of 1783 are very voluminous, containing, as I was told, and as I observed from a few specimens which I procured, not only lists of the houses in each place, but an account of its extent, boundaries, &c. The 31st volume of the *Chronicles of the Kings of Ava* states the fact of this census having been ordered about the month of December, 1783, but gives none of its details, nor even its general result.

The census ordered by the late King of Ava was taken, it will be seen, in the year 1826, immediately after the conclusion of the war with our government. Those hostilities, no doubt, had considerable effect on

* See 16th vol. of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 372.

† See 17th vol. of the *Asiatic Researches*, pp. 470 and 480.

the population of the country; but, in addition to this calamity, we must bear in mind, that during the reign of King Mendaragyee, many causes served to diminish the population, or prevent its increase. His disastrous campaigns against Siam and the Zenmay Shans, and various insane projects, and generally severe rule, excited frequent insurrections, and led to whole towns and villages being deserted, and to the emigration of vast numbers of the inhabitants of Pegu and Martaban into Siam. We may account then, in some degree, for the remarkable circumstance, that the census of 1826, taken 43 years after Mendaragyee's census, should have exhibited during this long period so small an increase in the population as only 42,662 souls. We must remember also, that the late king was not so much feared by his subjects as his grandfather had been, and there must have been a very great unwillingness on the part of the provincial officers to report any increase in the number of houses in their districts, lest it should subject them to increase of assessment. Hence, as an examination of the annexed lists will show, in many districts the number of houses returned in 1826, is precisely the same as the number returned in 1783. Some districts, however, such as those of Ava, Isagain, Mouttshobo, and Wuntho, show a very large augmentation, but this was occasioned chiefly by additional villages from the *tait* or demesnes of the crown, and other districts having been transferred to them.

The number of houses only in each place is exhibited in the returns of the provincial officers, and the Burmese sometimes reckon so many as ten persons, great and small, to a house,* and sometimes, only seven.† But they did not appear to me to derive either number from any satisfactory *data*, and neither my own inquiries at Ava, nor those made by my friend Mr. C. Lane, who resided in that city several years, could ever find so many as seven residents to be the average in the houses of private individuals there. Of course the dwellings of the princes and chief officers of government usually contained many more; but most of their servants, attendants, and guards remained in their master's houses during the day only, and retired at night to their own houses, which were situated either in the suburbs, or in one of the villages within the jurisdiction of the city. I remember frequently calling very early in the morning at the houses of some of the Burmese ministers, with whom I was on terms of the greatest intimacy, and finding two or three attendants only asleep in the room adjoining their master's bed-room, into which I was admitted at once, and allowed to turn his Excellency out of bed. In the same manner, the troops and boatmen on duty at the capital were periodically summoned from their own homes in the country, to which they returned as soon as their tour of duty expired. A careful census, which was taken by my friend, Mr. Maingay, in the year 1833, of the Anglo-Burmese provinces on the coast of Tennasserim, gave to the house of each inhabitant no more than five and a fraction, or about the same proportion, ($5\frac{1}{2}$) which Mr. W. B. Bayley ascertained to be the average rate in Burdwan.‡ Under the Burmese government, however, the monasteries are numerous, and always full of men who desire to avoid public service; and the inhabitants run up two or three houses as one, and adopt other means for concealing their

* See Mrs. Judson's Memoirs, p. 205.

† See Crawford's Embassy to Ava, p. 317.

‡ See 12th vol. of the Asiatic Researches, p. 549.

habitations and escaping taxation. We may therefore allow as many as seven souls to each house set down in their official returns; and I think if we add a tithe for omissions and false returns on the part of the local officers of Mendaragye, we shall obtain a tolerably correct account of the population of Burmah Proper and Pegu, as it stood in the year 1783.

I confess I possess no means of estimating the number of the wild tribes subject to Ava, which are scattered all over the country. But if we include the inhabitants of the two southernmost tributary states, Monkmé and Mobyé, the chiefs of which were considered at Ava as uncivilized, and the Red *Karians*, and the Taung-thns, (which last are found along a strip of territory lying between Burmah and the Eastern Shans, and are the remains of a people that had once a separate kingdom, the capital of which was Tathoun, situated to the south-east of Pegu); and if we include also the Burmese and Pegu tribes of Karians, the Khyens, Kadns, Dhanms, Kwes, and the Kakhyens or Singphos, we may perhaps reckon 830,000, the number estimated by Mr. Crawford.

With respect to the Shan states or districts subject to Ava I could obtain no other account of their population than that derivable from the annexed list B, which shows the number of houses liable for public or military service in each state, as ascertained about the year 1800. Those states, it is well known, although occupying a very large extent of country, are now covered with waste and jungle and are but thinly inhabited, owing to the dissensions among themselves, as well as to the circumstance of their territory having been the object of contention and scene of warfare for many years between their two neighbours, the Burmese and Siamese. But presuming that the authority of the Burmese over the whole of these Shans was not of sufficient force to enable them to make a complete enumeration of the houses liable for public service, I estimate that the annexed list contains only one-half of the actual number of houses in each state. This will give these Shan states a population of more than one-half of that of Burmah Proper and Pegu together, and I cannot help thinking that even this amount is too large.

The lists of the houses in Ava, Amarapura, and Isagain, in 1826, were taken under the immediate surveillance of the court, and with considerable care. I should here explain, that in 1783 Amarapura was the capital, and Ava was deserted. In 1826, the latter had been rebuilt and re-established as the capital, and the fort of Amarapura was deserted, the inhabitants, consisting of the officers of the court and those connected with them, having removed with the king to the new city; but the outer town and suburbs were still full of inhabitants. In 1837 the present monarch, Tharawadi, removed the capital again to Amarapura; and Ava is now again being deserted and falling to ruins.

It remains to notice in what points the returns, I now present differ from, or confirm, the statements regarding the population of the Burmese Empire made by preceding writers, and I beg to annex copies of what Colonel Symes, Captains Cox and Canning, Mr. Crawford, and the Rev. Mr. Malcom have said on this subject.

Colonel Symes learnt that the number of cities, towns, and villages in the empire, exclusive of Arracan, amounted to 8,000, and Captain Cox also learnt, that when King Mendaragye ordered every city, town, and village to send one soldier for the Burman army, the number mustered at Amarapura amounted to 8,000. The annexed returns show,

that in 1783 the number of villages in Burmah Proper and Pegu, including those of Ye, Tavoy, and Mergui, was about 5,885, and of cities and district towns 188, making altogether 6,053. Perhaps 2,000 more would have been about the number of those in the Shan states. Colonel Symes upon this information, and reckoning each town and village on an average to contain 300 houses, and each house six persons, supposed the whole population of the Burmese empire to amount to 14,400,000; but 300 houses was far too large an average, and would be so even in Europe. The annexed returns show, that the average number, even after allowing a tithe for omissions, was not more than about 55; and those who have visited Burmah must have observed that the majority of the towns and villages are very small, consisting of only one line of houses along a road or the bank of a river, and that a village with 100 houses may be considered as a large one. Captain Cox saw reason to reduce Colonel Symes's average from 300 to 150 or 200; but even this was too large. Mr. Maingay's census of the population of Maulmain and Tavoy, in 1833, gave for the former province, which contains the large town of Maulmain, 40 houses, and for the latter only 25 to each town and village.

Both Colonel Symes and Captain Cox understood, that 5,000 was the number of taxable houses in Rangoon and its suburbs. The annexed returns show, that the number reported to those officers included the houses in the whole of the district of Rangoon, a very common practice with the Burmese, when asked by a stranger any question regarding the population of a place. Mr. Crawford therefore justly suspected, when told that the houses in Rangoon before the late war amounted to 3,250, that "the number was swelled by including in the list all the villages and hamlets of the neighbourhood."*

Captain Canning learnt that the number of registered houses did not exceed 400,000, and the annexed returns show it to have been about 300,000 in Burmah Proper and Pegu.

Most of Mr. Crawford's estimates of the population of the Burman empire are surprisingly correct, whether founded on the quantity of petroleum annually produced at Yenangyoung, which gave from 2,066,731 to 2,147,000 souls for Burmah Proper and Pegu,† or on the calculation made by Captain Alves of the population of Bassein during our occupation, which gave 4,416,000 inhabitants for the whole empire;‡ and the conclusion to which he finally came, of not rating the whole population at more than 4,000,000, was nearly the same as the total produced by me from the annexed returns.

The information given to that gentleman also by a person, who had actually perused the public registries, as to the number of villages within the jurisdiction of the three cities of Ava, Amarapura, and Isagain, the subdivisions of the towns being each reckoned as one, and as to the total number of houses in the same, was nearly correct. The former was stated to him to amount to 511, and the latter to 46,000;§ whereas, according to the annexed returns, the former was 532, and the latter 40,928. Mr. Crawford estimated the population of the city of Ava at 50,000 only, considering, however, even that amount as probably too large. The annexed returns show the total number of houses

* See Crawford's *Embassy to Ava*, p. 346.

† *Ibid.* p. 55.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 464—466.

§ *Ibid.* p. 317.

in 1826 to have been 7,610, which, allowing seven souls to a house and a tithe for omissions, would give a population of 58,597 souls.

The Rev. Mr. Malcom was correctly informed by the Chief Wung-gee, at Ava, that the last census, in 1826, gave a total of 300,000 houses,* but that intelligent gentleman, after allowing a fraction short of seven persons to a house, supposes so many as one-third of the houses to have escaped enumeration, which, I conceive, to be far too large a proportion, and he estimates the number of the Shans also, I think, too highly, at 3,000,000. The annexed Returns also show, that those who told him that the Government actually received taxes on 30,000 houses in the city and suburbs of Ava,† where, it is well known, the majority of the houses are not liable to taxation, must have swelled the number, by including the whole of the houses in the two cities of Ava and Amarapura, and in all the villages subordinate to them, which amounted in 1826, to 29,031.

No person who has not visited Burmah can form any idea of the great difficulty of obtaining correct statistical information in that country. Not only the jealousy of the government conceals all such information, and the fears of its officers prevent their disclosing it, but even when a person has succeeded, as he imagines, in persuading one of their officers to be more communicative, it is most probable that either his vanity will urge him to exaggerate, or his incapacity to remember figures, or a loose mode of observing or communicating facts, will unconsciously make him deceive and mislead the inquirer.

APPENDIX No. 1.

"Of the population of the Burman empire," Symes says, "I could only form a conclusion from the information I received of the number of cities, towns, and villages in the empire: these I was assured by a person who might be supposed to know, and had no motive to deceive me, amount to 8,000, not including the recent addition of Arracan. If this be true, which I have no reason to doubt, and we suppose each town on an average to contain 300 houses, and each house six persons, the result will determine the population at 14,400,000. Few of the inhabitants live in solitary habitations, they mostly form themselves into small societies, and these dwellings thus collected compose their *ruas* or villages: if, therefore, we reckon their numbers, including Arracan, at 17,000,000, the calculation may not be widely erroneous; I believe it rather falls short of than exceeds the truth. After all, however, it is mere conjecture, as I have no better data for my guidance than what has been related."—Symes's Account of his Embassy to Ava, 4to. edit., p. 314.

In another place, he observes, "the population of Rangoon is considerable; there are 5,000 registered taxable houses in the city and suburbs; if each house be supposed to contain six people, the estimate will amount to 30,000."—Ibid. p. 214.

Captain Cox, in a letter to Sir John Shore, Governor-general, dated 27th November, 1797, says, "The question of population, I understood, has been often agitated at the Burman Court, and 4,000,000 stated as the population of the proper Burmha territory, and I have reason to believe it is pretty near the truth, rather more than less. One of the town clerks of Amarapoorah told my informant that there were 50,000 houses at Amarapoorah, including the suburbs and adjoining hamlets. I think this is an exaggerated account, because I know that Yanghong (Rangoon), the first place of trade in the Burman dominions, and more populous than any other for its size, contains only 5,000 taxable houses; and Amarapoorah, in its most extended sense, does not appear to me more than four or five times as large. I have visited most parts of both cities, and think my estimate of their comparative size near the truth. Burmha houses are only of one story, and spread over a good deal of surface; their cities, &c., are also crowded with many religious buildings, and the houses of all those employed under Government are surrounded

* Vol. I. of Malcom's Travels in South-Eastern Asia, p. 208.

† Ibid. p. 111.

by court-yards, so that both these take up a great deal of room. As the taxes are levied on houses, a greater number of people are crowded under one roof than is usual in single-storied houses in other countries. I shall, therefore, allow seven persons to one house, and rating the houses of Amarapoorah at 25,000, it will make the population of this capital 175,000 souls, men, women, and children. The residence of a Court, however despotic, has many attractions; it therefore serves in some manner as a criterion to judge of the population of the country. But even supposing the above-stated number of houses double, it would argue but a small population in the Burmha dominions.

"A second *data* is the number of cities, towns, and villages in the Burmha dominions, conquered countries included. It is said, that His Majesty, desirous of information on this subject, some years ago ordered that every city, town, or village should send one soldier for the Burmha army, and that when they were mustered at Amarapoorah, there appeared to be 8,000 men. Supposing this statement correct, and it is more likely to be exaggerated than diminished, we must have a regard to local circumstances, before we can apply it as a *data*. In England and Wales, I think there are about 1,200 cities, towns, and villages, and the population of both countries is rated at about 7,000,000, more or less; but it must be remembered, that from the security derived from our happy Government, the face of the country is scattered over with habitations; besides the flourishing state of our commerce has crowded our cities and towns with inhabitants. The case is far different with the Burmha dominions; its immense wilds are inhabited by savage hordes, or ferocious animals hostile to the civilized inhabitants. Oppression is ever on the watch to seize the unprotected peasant, and anarchy and lawless rapine stalk at large throughout the land. The inhabitants, therefore, are compelled to unite in societies for their mutual protection.

"I have been in a great many of their towns and villages, which in general are little more than a straggling row of huts along the strand, or a double row lining a road of communication. I therefore do not think that the whole of these 8,000 cities, &c. can average more than 150 or 200 houses each. Taking the largest statement, or 200, it will make the number of houses in the Burmha dominions 1,600,000; and at seven persons to a house, 11,200,000 persons in the whole of the Burmha dominions—a very scanty population, indeed, for so extended a territory; and its very extension operates against its ever proving an adequate resource either for defence or revenue, for in truth, not one-half of this population can be said to be in a state of solid allegiance, and from the remainder a very large proportion must be deducted for females, old men, and infants.

"The proportion of women to men has been stated to me as 10 to 6, and 4 to 1, and this enormous disproportion of the sexes has been accounted for, by the incessant state of warfare in which the Burmha nation has been engaged by the restless ambition of its sovereigns, particularly those of the present dynasty."

In a subsequent letter, however, addressed by Captain Cox to Lord Mornington, Governor-general, and dated 15th September, 1798, he observes:—

"The Burmha dominions in their most extended sense, (that is, including countries subject to their influence, although not in a state of settled allegiance,) I apprehend may contain about 194,400 square miles, with a population of about 8,000,000; from this at least 3,000,000 must be deducted as either being independent or uncivilized, which leaves only 25 taxable inhabitants to a square mile. This population is lower than what I formerly stated, but I have reason to think it is still above the truth."

Captain Canning, in the narration of his mission to Ava, in the year 1809–10, dated 8th May, 1810, observes:—

"Nor does the population even in the most flourishing period of that State appear to have amounted to anything near the number generally supposed. From the most authentic accounts, I have been able to obtain, (which I have reason to believe to be tolerably correct,) the number of registered houses does not exceed 400,000 which, allowing five or even six to a house, will not give a population of above 2,000,000 or 2,400,000."

Mr. Crawford, during his embassy to Ava, in 1826, attempted to estimate the population of the country from the quantity of petroleum annually produced at Yenangyoung, and his calculations gave from 2,147,200 to 2,066,721 souls, and afterwards 3,300,000.—(See pp. 55 and 466 of the printed account of his Embassy.) In another place he observes, after estimating the area of the Burman empire at 84,000 square miles:—

"The population of the Burman empire, before the loss of Arracan, of its conquests to the north-west, and of the provinces south of the Salween river, was estimated by former European inquirers, as high as 17,000,000, as high as 19,000,000, and even as 33,000,000. The area of the country would then have been about 268,000 square miles; so that the lowest of these estimates would have given above 63 inhabitants to a square mile, the second, of above 70, and the third of 123. When it is considered that the greater part of the country is still in a state of nature, that the inhabitants are in a semi-barbarous state, possessing neither agricultural, commercial, nor manufacturing industry; that they have lived for ages in a state of war or anarchy; that they are egregiously misgoverned; and finally, that in a fertile territory and favourable climate, where there is room for a dense population, the effectual wages of labour are not low, as in fully peopled countries, but high, as in thinly inhabited ones, it is impossible to believe but that such estimates are greatly over-rated.

"We are at present in possession of a few facts which may lead us to more reasonable conjectures. The provinces south of the Salween river depopulated by oppression and consequent emigration, cannot fairly be taken as a standard for the whole empire. Arracan, computed to contain about seven inhabitants to the square mile, will probably make a nearer approach to it. Were the whole Burman territory, then, peopled only in the ratio of this province, it would contain in round numbers only 1,380,000 inhabitants. Arracan, however, was a conquered and an ill-governed province, and considerable emigrations from it had taken place into the British territory, so that I have no doubt this estimate is much under the truth. The only portion of the restored provinces of which an estimate of the area and population was made during our occupation was Bassein.* The area of this district was reckoned at 9,000 square miles, and the population according to the Burmese records, at 214,500, which would give near 24 inhabitants to the square mile. This rate, applied to the whole kingdom, would give a population of 4,416,000. About 30 years ago, a house tax was levied on the dwellings of the two great classes of the population, the Burmese and Talains. The amount was 33½ ticals on each house, and the produce 4,000,000 of ticals. This would make the number of houses 120,000. The houses of all persons in public employment, and the monasteries, however, are not taxed, and through the malversation of the chiefs, it is reckoned that about a tenth of the produce is withheld. This last circumstance would raise the gross amount of the tax to 4,400,000, and consequently, the number of houses to 132,000. There is another element, however, to be taken into the calculation. The Burmese, for the express purpose of evading such a tax as this, often run two or even three houses into one. According to the Burmese, each house is reckoned at seven inhabitants, but if we add to these, priests and public functionaries, making at the same time some allowance for houses omitted, for the reason just mentioned, the number will probably not be over-rated at twelve, which will give a population of 1,584,000. To complete the population of the kingdom, it would be necessary to add the inhabitants of the tributary states, the Karyans, the Kyens, and other wild and unsettled races. We have, however, in this statement, the effectual strength of the population; the most civilized, and also the most numerous class of the inhabitants. The number of Karyans and Kyens in the province of Bassein, has been estimated from the Burmese records at 40,000. Were there, therefore, a similar proportion of the wild races throughout the rest of the empire, their total number would amount in round numbers to 830,000. This added to the last result would give a total population, exclusive of tributaries, of little short of 2,414,000."—(P. 463 to 465 of the printed account of Mr. Crawford's Embassy.

Mr. Crawford also states, "The Burman capital is not confined to the town of Ava, but embraces also Sagaing and Amarapoora, with the large districts attached to all three. Ava with its district extends along the river for six taings, or about 12 miles, and its depth inland is half this extent. Amarapoora is of the same size. Sagaing, with its district, extends for six taings along the river, and is of equal depth. According to this wide acceptation, the capital embraces an area of 288 miles. The number of villages contained in this space, the subdivisions of the town being each reckoned as one, was given to me as follows: for Ava, 320; for Amarapoora, 45; and for Sagaing, 146; making in all 511. The returns of the population in 1825, gave 46,000 houses or families. It is usual, however, for the *Wuns*, or heads of districts, to give in the census at considerably less than its real amount, and this deficiency is commonly estimated at a tithe, which would raise

* "Made by Captain Alves, the able and intelligent officer whom I have before quoted."

the actual number of families to 50,600. According to the Burman estimate, each family is reckoned at seven individuals, which would give a total population of 354,200.* This is at the rate of about 692 souls for each village or subdivision, and of 1,229 to the square mile; a very trifling population, when it is considered that three towns, and the best cultivated portions of the empire are included in the enumeration. These statements respecting the extent and population of the capital were furnished to me by a person who had actually perused the public registers, which are kept by one of the Atwenwuns, or privy counsellors, charged with this particular department; and the certain inference to be drawn from them is, that the total population of the whole kingdom must be very trifling, and its amount in all former accounts greatly exaggerated. All this will appear the more probable, when it is considered that the inhabitants of the capital enjoy, as will be afterwards explained, peculiar immunities in the way of taxation which must necessarily have the effect of concentrating the population here, and withdrawing it from the provinces.

"With respect to the population of the town of Ava itself, I have never heard any estimate; and probably, considering the mode in which the inhabitants of 'the capital' are reckoned, the Burmese have never attempted to make any. It must, however, as I conceive, be very inconsiderable. On a rough estimate, the area of the town and suburbs does not exceed two miles, and as I have already said, a considerable part of this is occupied by the palace and public buildings, a large portion is thinly inhabited, and much altogether unoccupied. We may compare it with other Indian towns, of which the area and population have been estimated. Calcutta is said to stand on an area of about 12 miles, and to contain 300,000. Were Ava as densely peopled, which I think very improbable, it would contain 50,000 inhabitants. Perhaps half this number would be much nearer the truth."—(Mr. Crawford's printed account of his embassy, p. 317.)

With respect to Rangoon, Mr. Crawford states:—"In August, 1826, I directed a census of the houses and population to be made; and found the former to amount to 1,570, and the latter to 8,666, excluding all strangers. This gives between five and six inhabitants to each house. During the administration of the last Burman viceroy, in a census which was made, the houses amounted to 3,250, which would give a population of near 18,000 inhabitants. On this occasion, however, I am told that the number of houses was swelled by including in the list all the villages and hamlets of the neighbourhood."—(Mr. Crawford's printed account of his embassy, p. 346.)

The following are the observations of the Rev. Mr. Malcom on the population of Burmah:—"Few countries have had their population so variously estimated. Old geographers stated it at 30,000,000; Symes made it 17,000,000; Cox afterwards reduced it to 8,000,000, and Balbi allows it only 3,700,000. The chief Woongyee, at Ava, informed me that the last census gave a total of 300,000 houses. Allowing a fraction short of seven persons to a house, this would make 2,000,000; presuming one-third of the houses to have escaped enumeration, we have 3,000,000. After the most careful inquiries, I am led to put down the number of the inhabitants to whom the Burman tongue is vernacular, at 3,000,000. This estimate was confirmed by many persons and numerous facts. The Shyans are probably 3,000,000 more, and with the other subsidiary tribes, bring up the population to about the estimate of Cox."—(P. 208, Vol. i. of Malcom's *Travels in South Eastern Asia*.)

"As to the population of the city (of Ava) I was at much pains to obtain correct information. The accounts obtained from Government officers did not differ much from each other. They said a census was recently taken, which gave 30,000 houses for the city and suburbs, without including any adjacent villages, and that 10 per cent. ought to be added for omissions. They computed seven persons to a house, and thus made the population 200,000. As the Government actually receives taxes on 30,000 houses, there does not seem room for estimating the number lower; but I am confident it must include the district. Mr. Crawford only allows 30,000. A severe fire occurred just before my arrival, which was reported by the proper officers to the king, as having destroyed 1,000 houses, besides huts and temporary residences. I examined the ground carefully, and compared it with the rest of the city, over all of which I rode repeatedly. The result of the whole induces me to estimate the population of Ava at about 100,000."—*Ibid*, p. 110.

* "The Mywoon of Sagaing informed me, in conversation, that the number of houses or families in the town and district constituting his jurisdiction, was 16,000, and the number of villages about 150; a statement which may be considered as a corroboration of that given in the text."

APPENDIX No. 2.

(A).—Abstract of the Number of Houses in each District of Burmah Proper and Pegu, as returned by the Enumerations taken in the Years 1783 and 1826.

Districts.	Villages.	1783.			1826.		
		Number of Houses.			Number of Houses.		
		Liable to Assessment.	Not Liable to Assessment.	Total.	Liable to Assessment.	Not Liable to Assessment.	Total.
City of Ava, with its villages . . . . .	..	25	48	73	7,566	8,404	15,970
City of Annapura, with its villages	124	4,437	10,964	15,411	3,996	9,065	13,061
City of Isagain, with its villages	131	1,272	5,139	6,411	3,045	8,852	11,897
Between the Capital and the North-West Frontier, to the West of the Erawadi	921	38,905	31,146	70,051	45,378	39,495	84,873
On the Western Frontier	505	14,690	5,149	19,839	15,081	5,529	20,610
Along the Erawadi to the Northward of the Capital	220	2,646	1,519	4,165	3,530	3,529	7,059
Along the Erawadi to the Southward of the Capital	2,119	52,518	14,113	66,631	52,534	14,195	66,729
Between the Capital and the South-East Frontier, to the East of the Erawadi	1,065	30,247	15,795	46,042	23,627	20,461	44,088
Tait, or Demesnes of the Crown	523	18,431	25,077	43,508	11,383	6,665	18,048
Myen, or Cavalry Jaghires	205	4,223	3,672	7,895	3,102	1,806	4,908
Miscellaneous	59	47	1,476	1,523	25	947	972
Yowunzu Kyi-wun, Wun-zu, or Districts under the Royal Treasurer, &c.	50	..	14,508	14,508	..	14,508	14,508
Total	5,922	167,451	128,606	296,057	169,267	133,456	302,723

(B.)—*Number of Houses liable for Public Service in the different Shan States and Districts subject to Ava, as taken by the Kyi-wungyee's Father, the Myen-wungyee, about the Year 1800.*

States and Districts.	Number of Houses.	States and Districts.	Number of Houses.
Kvaintoun	5,000	Brought forward . . .	53,800
Kyain Khyaing	1,000	Légyá	5,000
Main Youn	5,000	Main Kain	2,000
Thainni	30,000	Youkzouk	4,500
	41,000	Thigit	200
Mouch	3,000	Isagá	500
Maintsait	3,000	Thibo.	3,000
Mainpun	500	Main Toun	3,000
Heloun	100	Main Loun	300
Kyaintoung	2,000	Thounzay	100
Kyain Khan	200	Naung-mwon	50
Nyaung Yowe	4,000	Main Pyin	50
		Tabet	900
Carried forward . . .	53,800	Toungbain	3,000
		Total	76,400

(C.)—*List of the Number of Houses within the Cities of Ava, Amarapura, and Isagain, and of Towns and Villages and Houses within the jurisdiction of each of those Cities, in the Year 1826.*

Districts.	Towns and Villages	Number of Houses		
		Liable to Assessment.	Free from Assessment, as belonging to persons enrolled in the Military Lists.	Total.
Ava, City of . . . . .	..	4,733	2,877	7,610
Villages first placed under the jurisdiction of Ava	83	2,293	4,032	6,325
Ditto subsequently placed under the same	48	291	1,211	1,502
City of Panya and its villages . .	11	249	284	533
Total	142	7,566	8,404	15,970
Amarapura, City of . . . . .	..	3,797	7,697	11,494
Villages subordinate to Amarapura	27	199	1,368	1,567
Total	27	3,996	9,065	13,061
Isagain, City of . . . . .	..	858	3,154	4,012
Villages first placed under the jurisdiction of Isagain	37	439	1,451	1,890
Ditto subsequently placed under the same	76	1,748	3,738	5,486
Ditto of Pagoda slaves	4	..	509	509
Total	117	3,045	8,852	11,897